the WOMAN VOTER

SUFFRAGE IN 1916

HOW IT FEELS TO BE A JUSTICE

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SEPTEMBER, 1916

Published By the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City

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THE WOMAN VOTER

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EDITOR
FLORENCE WOOLSTON

ASSOCIATE EDITORS
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The Woman Voter is the only magazine published in the interests of the New York State campaign for woman suffrage. It contains official news of the work, authoritative statements on policy by officers of *The New York State Woman Suffrage Party,* and general articles by well known writers.

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THE WOMAN VOTER

SEPTEMBER, 1916

The Woman Suffrage Party has one plank in its platform and only one—votes for the women of New York State, the women of the United States and the women of the world.

Suffrage in 1916.

IN all the years that American women have struggled for their enfranchisement, the suffrage movement has never been so close to final victory as it is to-day. Never before have the women of the country been in the foreground of a great presidential campaign; never before has the federal amendment been a debated campaign question; never before have the women voters of the West and the women campaigners of the East been heralded as important factors in the outcome. The justice of the demand for suffrage is no longer debated—the great question is by which way women will win, by federal amendment, by state referenda or by both? Even the anti suffragists have been so busy trying to decide which will be the longer way that they have temporarily forsaken the "sphere." For at least a month, *The New York Times* has omitted the news that "woman's place is," etc. It looks as if she had crossed the threshold at last.

Every political party has a plank for woman suffrage in the platform of 1916. The Democratic and Republican Parties recommend the extension of the franchise to women by state action; the Progressive and Prohibition Parties advocate both state and federal action; the Socialist Party demands the immediate adoption of the federal amendment. All the presidential candidates are suffragists. All the candidates except one have endorsed the federal amendment. The situation is unprecedented in suffrage history.

Mr. Hughes' Endorsement.

TO suffragists, the great event in August was the fulfillment of Mr. Hughes' prophecy that his stand on woman suffrage would be satisfactory. In his formal speech, accepting the Republican nomination for the presidency he declared:

"I endorse the declaration in the platform in favor of woman suffrage. I do not consider it necessary to review the arguments usually advanced on the one side or the other, as my own convictions proceed from a somewhat different point of view.

"Some time ago a consideration of our economic conditions and tendencies, of the position of women in gainful occupations, of the nature and course of the demand, led me to the conclusion that the granting of suffrage to women is inevitable. Opposition may delay but in my judgment cannot defeat this movement. Nor can I see any advantages in the delay which can possibly offset the disadvantages which are necessarily incident to the continued agitation. Facts should be squarely met.

"We shall have a constantly intensified effort and a distinctly feminist movement constantly perfecting its organization, to the subversion of normal political issues. We shall have a struggle increasing in bitterness, which I believe to be inimical to our welfare. If women are to have the vote, as I believe they are, it seems to me entirely clear that in the interest of the public life of this country the contest should be ended promptly. I favor the vote for women."

The following day, in answer to a telegram of inquiry from Senator Sutherland of Utah, Mr. Hughes replied:

"In my answer to the notification, I did not refer to the proposed federal amendment relating to woman suffrage, as this was not mentioned in the platform. I have no objection, however, to stating my personal views. As I said in my speech, I think it to be most desirable that the question of woman suffrage should be settled promptly. The question is of such a nature that it should be settled for the entire country. My view is that the proposed amendment should be submitted and ratified, and the subject removed from political discussion."

A few hours later, at a tea given by the Women's Roosevelt League, he said:

"I see nothing but danger to our security, to our unity, to our proper attitude toward political questions in continued agitation of this subject; and I would take the shortest cut to its solution.

"I further believe that it is a matter affecting the whole country. It is one of those matters where we must have a uniform policy. The country must decide on what that policy should be. I have indicated my belief as to what it should be; but it is a question which affects the whole country—the composition of our electorate; and, therefore, I believe that the Federal amendment should be submitted and should be ratified."

Have a Ride?

Satterfield in the Brooklyn Citizen.

The Democrats and Federal Action.

ON August 1st, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and Mrs. Frank M. Roessing called upon President Wilson to urge again his endorsement of the federal amendment. He reaffirmed his belief in the principle of suffrage but was unwilling to advocate a national measure. The following day, he announced through Secretary Tumulty that he still regarded the matter as one to be disposed of by the individual states and not by an amendment to the federal constitution. At the same time, the President made it clear that he intended to stand by the plank in the Democratic platform, commending the question to the favorable consideration of the states.

Mrs. Catt has not yet given up hope that the President will change his mind on the question. His recent support of the federal child labor bill paves the way for a future declaration for a national suffrage measure.

"The argument in favor of the federal amendment which seemed to have the most weight with the President," said Mrs. Catt, "was the almost impossible task of obtaining a fair election when suffrage referendums are submitted in many of the states. I pointed out to him, for instance, the tremendous efforts made in sections of cities and states most under the influence of corrupt politicians to roll up majorities against suffrage. This is clearly shown by the tremendous votes in such sections when a suffrage amendment is up.

"Normally, constitutional amendments receive a much smaller vote than the leading candidates, but in Iowa, last year, there were 35,000 more votes cast for and against suffrage than were cast for the various candidates for Governor. Taken in connection with the fact that the suffrage amendment was beaten by only 10,000, this is significant.

"I pointed out to the President, after citing this instance, that in that same election it was necessary for a voter to ask for a special ballot for suffrage, if he desired to vote for or against it, and that in many precincts the supply of suffrage amendment ballots ran out early in the day, thus giving the organized forces against us a tremendous advantage. Thousands of persons who would have liked to vote for suffrage did not think to inquire why it was not on the ballot with the regular candidates, and forgot all about it. The same idea of separate ballots defeated us in Wisconsin.

"I laid stress on the fact that the mere submission of the federal amendment by Congress is not final, and for that reason does not seriously infringe on the states' right idea. The amendment must be ratified by three-fourths of the states before it is a part of the Constitution. But our difficulty about fighting corrupt methods would be much simplified if we could work on the Legislatures of the states instead of being opposed by all the corrupt influences at the polls.

"The President expressed sympathy that we had to work so hard, but complimented us on our splendid progress so far, saying we had progressed more rapidly than had any great reform in history, including the granting of the franchise to men."

In Congress.

AFTER a canvass of the situation in Washington, Mrs. Frank Roessing, Chairman of the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association announced that there would probably be no action on the federal bill at this session of Congress. Her investigation confirmed the opinion of Senator Thomas of Colorado, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage, who informed Mrs. Roessing that half a dozen Senators in favor of the resolution were absent and would not return to Washington before Congress adjourned. Senator Thomas told Mrs. Roessing that he had written to all Senators asking if a vote could be had on the suffrage resolution without debate and had received negative answers from both Democratic and Republicans.

Roosevelt's Statement.

MR. HUGHES' endorsement of the federal amendment has the hearty support of Theodore Roosevelt. In a letter to the chairman of the Women's Committee of the Hughes Alliance, the Colonel said, in part:

"The time is ripe for the passage of the amendment. There is a more widespread demand for it than for the passage of any recent Constitutional

amendment. Twelve States have already enfranchised women without producing to even the smallest degree any of the evils prophesied. The women in those twelve States should certainly use this ballot on behalf of their sisters in the other States. Such action is precisely like that of the men who use their ballots to force the abolition of child labor, the passage of workmen's compensation laws, the adoption of a protective tariff, for the enactment of legislation to secure the military and naval preparedness which is vital to the very existence of the nation.

"It is absurd to stigmatize one movement as "blackmail," unless the other movements are also stigmatized as blackmail. As for "sex antagonism," that is due to the men who discriminate against women purely because of sex, and not to the women who seek to do away with such discrimination. The special women's organizations should act in this matter as men (and women) do in the movements for national defence. They should not pardon misconduct or mischievous and wrong headed attitude in a public man merely because he is right on this question, but they should make his attitude on this question the consideration of primary importance."

The Republican Campaign.

I WANT the support of the women of this country," Charles E. Hughes has announced. It is doubtful if American women have ever had so direct an appeal from a candidate for high office. The women's committee of the National Hughes Alliance is organizing women all over the country for his support and already the membership numbers thousands. Business women, women lawyers, social workers and women of varied interests have entered the campaign for Hughes. While many women are participating because of Mr. Hughes' "America First and America Efficient" platform, the great appeal to women campaigners and women voters is the candidates' support of the federal amendment.

One of the most spectacular events of Mr. Hughes' western tour was the great mass meeting of women voters in Spokane, Washington. Addressing three thousand or more women who filled the Auditorium Theatre to overflowing as "fellow citizens," Mr. Hughes again stated his advocacy of the federal amendment. He repeated in substance his previous statements on woman suffrage and then talked to them as voters on the issues of the campaign. It was entirely a woman's meeting; not a man was to be seen in the auditorium or on the platform, except Mr. Hughes. The Chairman was Miss Jeanette Donaldson who is running on the Republican ticket for County Superintendent of Schools.

"I am accustomed to surprises," said Mr. Hughes, "but this meeting is a very grateful surprise. It impresses me profoundly with the truth of that which I said a few days ago in New York, that it is perfectly idle to suppose that the women in this country will be denied the right to vote."

The Democratic Campaign.

VANCE McCORMICK, Chairman of the Democratic campaign committee has announced that plans for an appeal to women voters in the west are under way. Through the Publicity Bureau of the National Democratic Committee statements have been issued urging women to work for Wilson because of his success in keeping the country out of war and his legislative record which includes the passage of the federal child labor bill.

The Democrats point to the fact that Mr. Hughes did not vote for the suffrage amendment when he had the opportunity in 1915 and they claim that his personal endorsement of the federal amendment, without the support of his party counts for little.

Mr. Wilson made a special trip to New Jersey to vote for woman suffrage and he has repeatedly endorsed the principle. The president sent a note to be read at a banquet of the Jane Jefferson Club, the pioneer organization of Democratic women voters in the United States. Mr. Wilson said, in part:

"One of the strongest forces behind the equal suffrage sentiment of the country is the now demonstrated fact that in the suffrage states women interest themselves in public questions, study them thoroughly, form their opinions and divide as men do concerning them. It must in frankness be admitted that there are two sides to almost every

"Mr. Hughes Kissed Her!"

Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Dispatch.

Ready for the Round-up.

J. H. Cassel in the Boston Journal.

important public question, and even the best informed persons are bound to differ in judgment concerning it.

"Those who believe in equal suffrage are divided into those who believe that each State should determine for itself when and in what direction to extend the suffrage and those who believe that it should be immediately extended by the action of the National Government by means of an amendment to the Federal Constitution. Both the great political parties of the nation have in their recent platforms favored the extension of the suffrage to women through State action, and I do not see how their candidates can consistently disregard these official declarations. I shall endeavor to make the declaration of my own party in this matter effectual by every influence that I can properly and legitimately exercise."

The National Woman's Party.

SUFFRAGISTS are working along two distinct lines to press the advantage which the political situation gives them. The Congressional Union has organized a National Woman's Party for the purpose of making the women voters a force for suffrage in the election of 1916. At a conference which opened in Colorado Springs on August 10th it was decided that the Woman's Party would devote its energies to the defeat of the Democratic Party. Following the policy of holding political parties responsible for national woman suffrage, the Congressional Union announced that Mr. Wilson's failure to advocate a federal suffrage bill as well as the refusal of the Democrats to pass the bill through Congress indicated that suffragists could not hope to gain their measure through the present party in power.

The following resolution was passed by the convention:

"Whereas, The present Administration under President Wilson and the Democratic Party have persistently opposed the passage of a national suffrage amendment, and

"Whereas, Each of the other national parties either by their platform or through their candidates are pledged to the passage of a Federal amendment enfranchising women, therefore be it

"Resolved, First, that the National Woman's Party so long as the opposition of the Democratic Party continues, pledges itself to use its best efforts in the twelve States where women vote for President to defeat the Democratic candidate for President, and in the eleven States where women vote for members of Congress to defeat the candidates of the Democratic Party for Congress.

"Resolved, second, That we congratulate the Progressive, Prohibition, and Socialist parties upon the definite stand which they have taken in their endorsement of suffrage for women by national action.

"Resolved, third, That we commend the position of the Republican candidate for President, Charles Evans Hughes, for the unequivocal stand which he has taken for human liberty by his endorsement of suffrage for women by national action, and assure him of our appreciation of his statesmanlike position."

It was announced that the Woman's Party would begin active political work in the suffrage states at once. The policy of the Congressional Union is to work only for the federal amendment. It believes that the method of state referenda is obsolete and unnecessary. It would eliminate state campaigns and the appeal to voters, making woman suffrage a purely political issue. Mrs. Florence Bayard Hillis, State Chairman for the Congressional Union in Delaware, epitomized the policy as follows:

"The hopeless task of State referenda has taught women the futility of such action and the necessity for concentration on the Federal amendment. Undoubtedly enough States are now won to enable the most skeptical observer to see that the political power already in the hands of women themselves is sufficient to win freedom for all women."

The National Association.

THE National American Woman Suffrage Association, composed of State organizations does not endorse the policy of the Congressional Union. It believes that the time is not yet ripe for the abolition of state referenda. It is at this time actively supporting campaigns in South Dakota and West Virginia confident that success in those states which together number thirteen electoral votes will strengthen the Congressional work. The National has always worked simultaneously for state amend-

ments and a federal amendment. It regards strong state organization as a necessary corrollary of federal work, not only for the gaining of new states but for ratification of the federal bill after its passage through Congress.

The National is absolutely non-partisan in its political activities. It is opposed to anti-party policy, seeking the support of men in all parties both in National and State work, holding men and not parties responsible for suffrage measures.

In a pamphlet, "The Winning Policy," Mrs. Carrie C. Catt outlines the reason for non-partisanship as follows:

"In this country no party is ever in power in the sense that a party is "the government" in Great Britain. A party may control the National administration and Congress as the Democrats do now, but the Republicans control many legislatures to which an appeal for the ratification of a Federal Amendment must be made. A policy which drives one party into an attitude of hostility toward the Federal Amendment threatens to become a boomerang which will defeat the very purpose it has been invoked to serve.

"Opposition to a party, as such, very naturally arouses resentment in that party since it is the character of humans to be persuaded and not forced. Unless the opposition is sufficiently powerful to make it clear that the party, to save its life, must adopt the idea in controversy, the party is set more firmly against the idea instead of being won to it. This is a psychological axiom so simple and universal as to need no amplification. . . .

"Southern Democrats who voted for the amendment in 1915 now declare that they will do so no more on account of suffrage opposition to their party. The hostility aroused is rapidly crystallizing into Democratic opposition to Federal action which did not exist before. It is clear that the Democrats have not been won to the Federal Amendment by a policy of threat and if returned at the coming election will support it in reduced numbers, or perchance go against it as a party. If this condition should result, the Federal Amendment is blocked until another election. If further opposition to the Democrats should be shown it would tend to strengthen their attitude of hostility rather than weaken it and, in consequence (so long as the Democrats remain in power) the amendment would be blocked.

"Let us suppose that the Republicans are returned at the coming elections and that to avoid suffrage opposition in their campaigns they determine to put the Federal Amendment through as a party measure. *No party has controlled a two-thirds vote of Congress* since the days of the Reconstruction and the passage of the amendment requires that majority.

"The difference between the majority which the Republicans could command and the two-thirds required must be solicited from Democrats. Would they give the necessary votes? Since the Republicans would get the chief credit and the probable reward of increased party loyalty among women voters it would be the unusual man who would give his vote under the circumstances. It is quite possible that under these conditions the Democrats out of power would as effectually block the amendment as when in power.

"Again, let us imagine that a sufficient number of Democrats would rise above their partisanship to the exalted heights of being willing to serve a cause for its sake alone and that they would give the needed number of votes to make up the two-thirds majority. The amendment would then go to the legislatures of the 48 states. It must be ratified by three-fourths of the states—that is 36. Leaving out the 12 Southern States, most solidly Democratic, every other state must be carried. Among them there will surely be Democratic legislatures. There the amendment would be blocked. One stubborn Democratic state might prevent the final ratification or a half-dozen stubborn legislators might postpone the final adoption for a generation.

"It is claimed that as the amendment would remain pending until the necessary three-fourths of the legislatures have been won, this need not matter since a concentrated effort could be made upon the recalcitrant states. That sounds well, but those of us who have seen a single man hold up a legislature do not feel so optimistic.

"Why take all these risks? Why postpone the final victory? Men of both the dominant parties have given our cause splendid support. Even the submission of a state constitutional amendment to the voters has never passed a legislature by a party vote. It has always passed as a nonpartisan measure receiving the support of men of both parties. No amendment has been won at the polls without the support of both parties. Our cause has grown strong and popular with the passing years and the sacrificing devotion of many women. Yet there remains a hard struggle ahead. The nonpartisan way is assuredly the line of least resistance; the safe, tried, sane way. All the suffrage won for women anywhere in the world was won by this method. Why not appeal to both parties not only for votes in Congress but for ratification in the legislatures afterwards.

The New Recruit.

Clubb in the Rochester Herald.

The National Association does not in its advocacy of non-partisanship, however, intend to lose the political advantage of the present situation. In a letter to all candidates for Congress, the Congressional Committee on behalf of the states represented in the Association, asked for a prompt reply to the following questions:

"Are you in favor of woman suffrage?"

"If elected will you vote in Congress to submit to the states a Federal amendment to enfranchise the women of this country?"

"If appointed on committee in whose jurisdiction such an amendment should fall will you do all in your power to expedite the passage of such a measure?"

In reply to the question as to whether the National Association would make a fight on candidates who failed to answer these questions satisfactorily, Mrs. Roessing said that this would depend entirely on the action of the convention, to be held in Atlantic City.

"It must be remembered that the utterances of Mr. Hughes, the Republican nomince, do not bind all the Republican candidates for the House or Senate," said Mrs. Roessing. "We anticipate that many of them will follow the example of their leader and announce in their personal platforms their advocacy of the Federal amendment. We expect that Democratic candidates in many states will also see the advisability of endorsing the Federal amendment, just as so many of the leading Democrats in both Senate and House have already done.

"There is no doubt that the candidate who openly endorses Federal as well as state action on woman suffrage will have a big lead over candidates who fail to make their positions clear.

"Surely there is no reason why we should fight Democratic or Republican members of the House who are seeking re-election in cases where those nominees did all they could to help us in our fight last winter. Nor is there any reason why we should not oppose men, no matter what their party, who during the session have done everything they could to balk our plans."

The Emergency Convention.

MEMBERS of the National Association are aware that the Emergency Convention called in Atlantic City from September 6th to 11th is the most important meeting which suffragists in this country have ever held. It is expected that at least two thousand members of the Association, representing every state in the Union, will be present.

The future of the National Association rests with the Convention. There will be full and frank discussion as to the relation of state and federal work; the advisability of concentrating solely on a national campaign or solely on state campaigns, or continuing with both will be decided. The National will frame a platform and determine its relation to the Presidential campaign. It will vote on the question of active participation in the Congressional campaigns and the continuation of the policy of non-partisanship. Since only one candidate for the presidency has failed to endorse the federal amendment the discussion of "Election Policy" will be most important.

It is expected that both President Wilson and Mr. Hughes will address the convention. Since the National Council of Women Voters has announced its intention of actively supporting the National American Woman Suffrage Association in its work for the federal amendment, the action of the convention with regard to the presidential and congressional campaigns will have weight with those members from the suffrage states.

Convention Program

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1916

MORNING

St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church.

9:30 Convention called to order.
Invocation.
Welcome—Hon. Harry Bachrach, Mayor of Atlantic City.
Program Committee—Mrs. Stanley McCormick.
Local Arrangements Committee—Announcements. Miss Mary G. Hay, Chairman of National. Miss L. A. Marvel, Chairman for Atlantic City.
Membership Committee—Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw.
Reports of Officers.

AFTERNOON

2:30 **Three Cornered Debate.**

I. Shall the National American Woman Suffrage Association drop work on the Federal Amendment and confine its activities to State Legislation?
Leader—Miss Laura Clay, Kentucky.
Second—Miss Kate Gordon, Louisiana.

II. Shall the National American Woman Suffrage Association drop work for State Referenda and concentrate on the Federal Amendment?
Leader—Mrs. Ida Husted Harper.
Second—Mrs. Glendower Evans, Mass.

III. Shall the present policy of the National American Woman Suffrage Association to work for woman suffrage by "appropriate National and State legislation" be continued?
Leader—Mrs. Raymond Brown, N. Y.
Second—Miss Florence Allen, Ohio.
Free discussion from the floor.
The alternative amendments to the Constitution will then be put.
I. To strike out the words "appropriate National Legislation."
II. To strike out the words "appropriate State Legislation."
If both are lost, the Constitution remains as it is and the N. A. W. S. A. is pledged to support both Federal and State campaigns.

EVENING

9:00-11:00 Reception Marlborough-Blenheim.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1916

MORNING

9:30 Convention—Nixon's Theatre.
Report Executive Council recommending Plan of work for N. A. W. S. A.
Amendments to Constitution.

AFTERNOON

Nixon's Theatre

2:30 **The Handicapped States** — A Concrete Lesson in Constitutions.
The Impossibles, The Insuperables, The Inexecutables, The Improbables, The Indubitables, The Inexcusables.
The Irreproachables.
President's Address—The Crisis—Carrie Chapman Catt.

7:30 Model Open Air Meeting. Conducted by Mrs. Mabel Russell.

EVENING

Nixon's Theatre

8:30 Dixie Evening—Carrie Chapman Catt, presiding.
Eloquent speakers from the South.

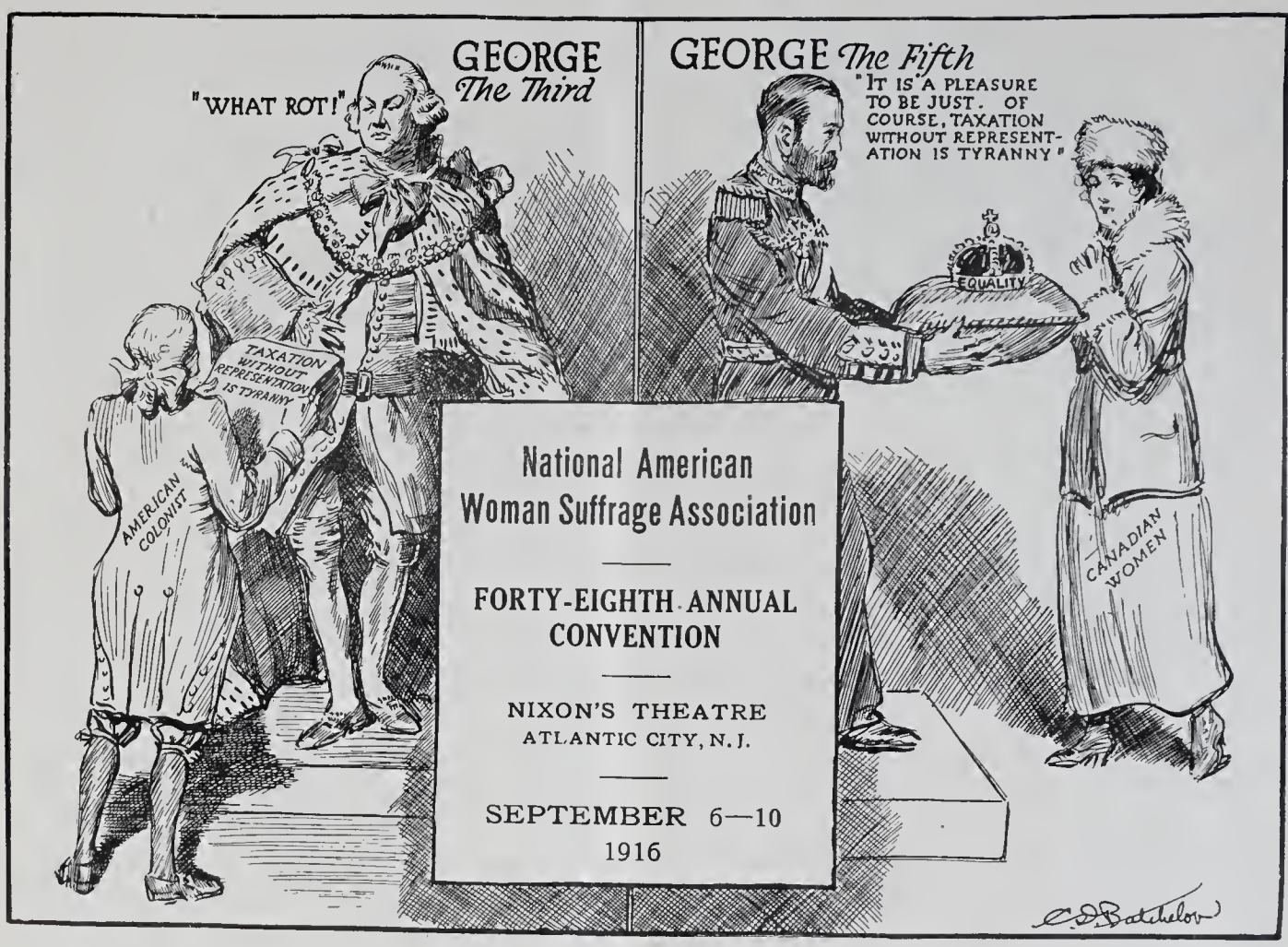
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1916

Polls open for Nomination of Primary Officers Marlborough-Blenheim, 8:00-3:00 P. M.

9:30 Convention—Nixon's Theatre.
Report Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., Inc.
Political Policy, Campaign Policy, Election Policy.
Recommendations Executive Council.

AFTERNOON

2:30 **How and Where to Drive the Entering Wedge.**
City Charters.
Miss Florence Allen.



THE CALL

The National American Woman Suffrage Association issues this CALL to its members and friends for the Forty-Eighth Annual Convention to be held in Nixon's Theatre, Atlantic City, New Jersey, September 6th to 10th inclusive, 1916.

Our cause has been endorsed in the platforms of every political party in our land. In order to determine how, most expeditiously, to press these newly won advantages to final victory, the convention is called.

A significant and startling fact is urging American women to increased activity in their campaign for the vote. Across our borders three great Canadian provinces, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, have granted universal suffrage to their women within the year. In every thinking American woman's mind the question is revolving: *Had our forefathers tolerated the oppressions of autocratic George the Third and remained under the British flag, would the women of the United States today, like their Canadian sisters, have found their political emancipation under the more democratic George the Fifth?* American men are neither lacking in national pride nor approval of democracy and must, in support of these convictions, hasten the enfranchisement of women. To plan for the final steps which will lead to the inevitable establishment of nation-wide suffrage for the women of our land is the specific purpose of the Atlantic City Convention.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, President.

Referenda.
West Virginia—Mrs. Ellis A. Yost.
South Dakota—Mrs. John Pyle.
Iowa—Miss Flora Dunlap.

Legislative Possibilities.
Report Committee on Presidential Suffrage
Mrs. Robert Huse, N. J.
Is Limited Suffrage Worth While?
Harriet Taylor Upton, O.
The Chances Offered by the Illinois Law.
Mrs. Catherine W. McCulloch, Ill.
Other Congressional Openings.
Elections Bill—Miss Laura Clay, Ky.
What Kansas Thinks About Woman Suffrage.
Mrs. W. Y. Morgan, President Kansas Woman Suffrage Association.
Help From the West.
Mrs. Emma Smith Devoe, President Council Women Voters.

EVENING

Why Women Need the Vote.
Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, presiding.
Speakers, Mrs. Raymond Robins, Miss Julia Lathrop, Dr. Katharine B. Davis, Mrs. Deborah Knox Livingstone, Dr. Oliver R. Lovejoy.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1916

Polls open for General Election of Officers.
8:00—3:00 P. M.

MORNING

9:30 Invocation—Dr. Anna H. Shaw.
Report Publicity Dept.—Mr. Charles T. Heaslip.
Report Data Dept.—Mrs. Mary Sumner Boyd.
Report Art Publicity Dept.—Mrs. Thompson Seton.
Declaration of Principles—Resolution Committee.
Unfinished Business.
New Business.

AFTERNOON

2:30 Conference Publicity Council.
Conference Congressional Chairman.
Executive Council.

EVENING

Public Meeting. Speakers to be announced.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1916

Nixon's Theatre

3:00 Mrs. David Simpson, Minnesota.
Dr. Effie McCullom Jones, Iowa.
Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Pennsylvania.

The New York Campaign

WHETHER a federal amendment passes the next Congress or not, the campaign for a state referendum in 1917 in New York is on and to members of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party, the state issue is for the time being of more importance than the federal campaign. This does not mean that we are blind to the advantage of a federal short cut; we are ready to welcome victory by whatever method it may come. But we are pledged to the 1917 campaign and we intend to carry it forward to victory, strengthening the demand for a federal bill by adding New York's 45 electoral votes to the 91 already controlled by women voters.

In view of the national political situation which for the moment gives the Republicans a stronger position with regard to the federal measure, the New York State Woman Suffrage Party has again reaffirmed its position of strict non-partisanship. The following planks were adopted at the Party Conference in Saratoga:

"Since there are frequent misrepresentations of the suffrage position on such matters as peace, preparedness, the liquor question and political partisanship, it is the sense of this meeting that we reiterate the single plank of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party. Whatever as individuals we may believe, as a suffrage organization we are not empowered by our members to represent them on any subject but one, and that is 'Votes for Women.'"

"It is the sense of this meeting that we urge our workers throughout the State to maintain strictly the non-partisan character of our policy."

The wisdom of this policy is apparent to those who have followed suffrage history in New York State. When the bill for the 1915 referendum came before the Legislature it was supported by planks of endorsement from every political party in the State. The huge vote of over half a million in favor of the amendment was distributed among all parties. Looking back to the legislative struggle of last year for the 1917 bill, we find that the most conspicuous enemies of suffrage, Senator Elon R. Brown and Senator Henry M. Sage were Republicans, but the men who fathered the bill and who fought for it with the determination which won were Senator Whitney, a Republican and Assemblyman Brereton also a Republican. Analysing the adverse vote in Senate and House we find that we had opponants in both parties. For instance among the "noes" we find Assemblyman Marsh (Republican); Assemblyman McCue (Democrat); Assemblyman Ellenbogen (Republican); Assemblyman Bacher (Democrat); Assemblyman Nickerson (Republican); Assemblyman Schimmel (Democrat); Assemblyman Maerkel (Republican); Assemblyman O'Hare (Democrat).

Forgetting our foes and remembering our friends we find that they are likewise in both places. Governor Whitman and Herbert Parsons both Republicans have always supported our measure while Mayor Mitchel and Senator Wagner both Democrats are known to stand for a square deal to suffragists. The bill was carried through the Legislature by a majority which included both Republicans and Democrats. A similar situation will confront us when we begin the work of carrying the 1917 bill through the next Legislature. For a state campaign to run on lines of partisanship is suicide; no party can defeat us and no party can bring us victory alone. In a state referendum we present our measure, not as a question of party politics but as a question of principle. The votes of Democrats, Republicans, Socialists, black men, white men, newly naturalized immigrants and first voters count equally in the result. The advantage of the federal amendment is, of course, that the ratification requires an appeal to the whole electorate only indirectly; the Legislature which is supposed to represent a higher grade of intelligence and judgment determines the issue. But the question of ratification and suffrage policy along national lines does not concern New York State at this moment. We are working to win the voters. Our success depends, not upon political methods but upon the education of the citizens of this State. The year 1915 brought us close to victory—1917 will make it certain..

The Democratic Convention.

THE New York State Woman Suffrage Party held a conference in Saratoga, August 10th, while the Democrats were in "unofficial" convention. The purpose of the suffrage meeting was two-fold—to elect delegates and alternates to the Emergency Convention of the National Association and to present a suffrage plank for the consideration of the Democrats.

Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse spoke before the Platform Committee, presenting a suffrage plank which would have been most satisfactory to the Woman Suffrage Party. The Committee did not accept the plank of-

fered but adopted the following resolution:

Woman Suffrage.

We hold that the question of conferring the right of suffrage upon men and women has been, is now, and should remain exclusively a question to be determined by the people of the States, apart from and uninfluenced by partisan considerations. We have repeatedly recommended that the opportunity be afforded the people of this State to vote upon the question of woman suffrage, and we again recommend that the question of suffrage to women be submitted in 1917.

The Democratic candidate for Governor, Judge Samuel Seabury, is a strong believer in woman suffrage. In the event of his election, suffragists would still have a friend in the Governor of New York State.

As the national party platform of the Republicans favors woman suffrage, it is probable that the New York State Republicans will take favorable action at their convention early in September.

The Colorado Beeters Again

"WELL," said Sarah Maud in the famous Bird's Christmas Carol, "seems as if this whole dinner party set right square on top o' me. Mebbe I could manage my own manners, but ter manage nine mannerses is worse'n staying to home!" The women in the enfranchised states suffer a similar situation, for they are held responsible for every evil that exists in society, and when ever an untoward social condition is found in a suffrage state, all the antis in the country point their fingers at the woman voter and say. "It's all your fault! Woman suffrage is a failure!"

In March, 1916, *The Survey* published an article which showed that despite the splendid child labor legislation of the state, 5,000 children were at work in the beet fields of Colorado. This of course was delightful news for anti-suffragists who fairly revel when things go wrong in a suffrage state. Of course the fact that practically no child labor legislation has yet been drafted to meet the problem of children in agriculture did not enter their discussion; neither did they consider that the investigation of the National Child Labor Committee revealed conditions in the beet fields, unknown to the citizens of Colorado. As Mr. Owen R. Lovejoy pointed out, the employment in agriculture of 16,000 children in Iowa; 53,000 in Kentucky; 120,000 in North Carolina, has been known for years and it has never been used as an argument for disfranchising the men of those states.

In the July issue of *The Survey*, Mrs. Florence Kelley, says with regard to the Colorado beeters and woman suffrage:

"It is sad, of course, that children anywhere should suffer the experiences of the "beeters." But the Colorado women voters, informed for the first time of the facts by the investigations of the National Child Labor Committee can make all needed changes in the school law at the next meeting of their legislature.

They are confronted by no such long, vain struggle as their non-voting sisters in New York have for years waged in behalf of the cannery children robbed of the benefits of the child labor law by local judges and juries in whose selection New York women have no voice. Colorado women backing bills to protect the "beeters" are immeasurably better placed than voteless women in New Jersey striving year after year to mitigate the plight of the little workers in berry patches and bogs.

In Ohio (where women do not vote) at Lodi, a company controls 1,200 acres of land, and employs minors for weeding, for pulling and topping onions, and other similar work in raising vegetables. Here a visitor last year found one day 103 boys and girls sixteen years of age and under; 2 boys of eight years who had worked two season, having begun when they were six years old; 6 boys nine years old, 3 of them having worked three seasons, and 2 four seasons; 2 girls, nine years old, had worked two seasons; 2 girls of eleven years had worked four seasons.

Nor are the Colorado women powerless like the non-voting women of several states in which children in the cotton fields are often far worse off than the "beeters," because compelled to work under the contract system side by side with convicts. Fortunate are the women of Colorado whose course stretches clear before them. They can and doubtless will get the necessary legislation in 1917.

The Colorado revelations are only one link in the long chain of studies, past and to come, of our country's neglect of its rural children. So dreadful, in fact, is that neglect that Congress seems to be about to pass the Smith-Hughes bill for federal aid to rural secondary schools. A nation-wide permanent federal aid committee, too, is in process of formation, whose purpose is to demand that the federal government shall extend such substantial monetary aid to the several states as will enable them to provide adequate industrial and agricultural education, to improve rural schools, and to eliminate illiteracy."

Tainted Ballots

Reprinted from the New Republic

"I don't know what to do. I had no idea Mr. Hughes would come out for suffrage. I would never have joined the Hughes Alliance had I foreseen that. Shall I resign? I don't know yet; I can't tell what I shall do until I have talked it over with my husband. You see, he is a stanch Republican and so, of course, for Mr. Hughes. But I certainly do not care to be identified with an organization largely made up of suffragists. Nothing in the world would have caused me to join the Hughes Alliance had I realized that it was to be absolutely managed by suffrage women. It just shows how stupid women are to let themselves get entangled in any political organization. Why, I'm in an awful box."

THE box so described by a prominent member of the Guidon Club Opposed to Woman Suffrage should not, after all, be uncomfortably narrow for anti-suffrage logic. Anti-suffragists have been in just that kind of box ever since they became articulate, and have lived there complacently without knowing where they were. If a woman believes that women should not vote, and at the same time desires the election of Mr. Hughes and joins an organization to help bring it about, she can do so on only one theory. That theory is that indirect influence on other votes is sufficient to express her political preferences. And what should she care if some of those other votes happen to be women's? In a case of mere influence, one vote is as good as another, and no vote can be tainted if it is cast for the right man.

The real problem of the Guidon Club member is whether her desire that women shall not vote is so strong as to outweigh all other political considerations. She might reason with herself as follows: "My husband is a stanch Republican and desires the election of Mr. Hughes; I also desire the election of Mr. Hughes. But I believe more strongly than anything else that women should not vote. It would not be right for me to cast a ballot for Mr. Hughes, nor would it be right for other women to do so. Yet if he is elected it will be with the help of many women's ballots, and if he is elected he will help give all women the vote. Therefore, it is not right that he should be elected. I must use my influence against his election; I must persuade my husband to vote for Mr. Wilson; I must try to defeat my own political desires." Such a beautiful self-cancellation should delight the suffragist voters and the suffragist candidate. It would be a nice test of the power of "influence" against the power of votes.

But surely, you say, this would be an unduly harsh use of logic to expect of a woman who does not glory in her political wisdom. Might she not, though opposing suffrage, still think some issues large enough to obscure her aversion? Well, let us see where that would lead her.

Suppose she agrees with Mrs. George W. Wickersham, who before Mr. Hughes came out for the Anthony amendment announced her support for him. Mrs. Wickersham proclaimed that, though she is an anti-suffragist, she wishes to "point out to all citizens of this country that the election of Mr. Hughes is imperative for our national safety, unity, prosperity and honor, and that this is a time when all citizens, men and women alike, should rally to America's call for a leader. . . . There are times and conditions in the political history of a country like ours when we must all unite on the big issues and agree to differ about the lesser ones." If one feels that way about the candidacy of Mr. Hughes, surely one should be willing to have him elected, even with the aid of women's votes. But what a confession is there! Mrs. Wickersham has admitted that the government of a country may be supremely important to its women. She has admitted that women may have, and indeed must sometimes have convictions about how that government should be administered. One infers that she might perhaps consent to die for the safety, unity, prosperity, and honor of her country. Is she unwilling for the same cause to drop a piece of paper into a slot?

The anti-suffrage dilemma is not caused by the accident that Mr. Hughes, who happens to be liked by conservative women, also happens to favor woman suffrage. The dilemma is caused by the curious twist of mind which makes a woman who is capable of opinions on politics believe at the same time that she should not have the means of making those opinions effective. A woman could be a logical anti-suffragist if she had faith that government has no effect on women. She could be a logical anti-suffragist if she had faith that though government does concern women, still her opinions on the way it is administered are worth nothing and should not count. But the moment a woman begins to have convictions about politics, there is only one thing for her to do. If she wishes to justify her intelligence, she must announce her belief in woman suffrage.

How It Feels to be a Justice

Reah M. Whitehead,

Justice of the Peace, Seattle, Washington

Jessie Banks.

TO analyze one's "feelings" when engaged in any line of work or profession is extremely difficult. Moreover, one's perspective may not be entirely true. Permit me to state the nature and some of the duties of the office which I hold, and possibly you who read may be able to draw your own conclusions as to "how it feels to be a justice" better than I myself can do.

I am one of five justices of the peace in the precinct of the City of Seattle, a city of about three-hundred-and-twenty-five thousand population. I am a county official, but act only within the city. The other four justices are men, one of them being also police judge of the city. The office is elective. I was nominated at the primary election in September, 1914, and elected at the general election in November of the same year by a not unflattering vote (so much for suffrage!), taking office in January, 1915, which I have been filling continuously since that time. My term may expire next January and may not end until two years later. The question is now before the supreme court of this state. It is a salaried not a fee office. The force consists of two clerks and a bailiff.

The civil jurisdiction, broadly speaking, covers cases in which the amount involved does not exceed one hundred dollars, and in which certain questions, as, for instance, the title to real property, may not be involved.

A large number of civil actions is brought for the recovery of moneys due for grocery, clothing and furniture bills, physicians' services, dressmaking bills, claims for housemaids' services, and similar transactions of a domestic or "family" nature. The subject matter in-

volved in these cases, it will be readily observed, is one with which a woman is presumed to be ordinarily more familiar than is a man.

In more than half of the cases tried in a justice court one of the parties plaintiff or defendant, at least, is a woman, in some instances, of course, both being women. In probably one third of the actions tried women appear as witnesses, and in three-fourths women are affected or take part either as parties or witnesses. These computations are taken from records kept by myself. Indeed, to step into a justice court room in which women are not present during the trial of a case, is the exception rather than the rule.

During the first six months of my term of office a large number of criminal cases were sent to my court by the prosecuting attorney (corresponding to your district attorney) and tried before me. I have jurisdiction, for the purposes of trial and sentence, of offenses in which the penalty which may be imposed is not in excess of a six-months' term in the county jail or a five-hundred-dollar fine. As to felonies, I act only as a committing magistrate. It is my belief that no justice or judge likes to handle criminal cases. The idea of punishment upon which the criminal law seems largely to be based is abhorrent to every one and as the results of our penal institutions testify, pathetic in its futility. However, our criminal laws approximately are the best that we have been able thus far to evolve for the curbing and control of lawlessness, and we must abide by them; but their administration is far from being a pleasant duty. Particularly unpleasant is the infliction of sentences to the average jail, closed from the out-of-doors and restricted and cramped as to space. Our county has recently purchased a large farm for a "poor farm," and we hope some day that all minor offenders will be committed there for the purpose of serving their sentences. We are also hoping, with some chance of realization I believe, that we shall have a detention home for women offenders, with large grounds for gardens and some form of work for the inmates to perform.

In a majority of criminal cases women appear either as parties or witnesses. At the present time all of the so-called "lazy husband" or non-support cases are heard before me. They present some perplexing problems. For example, the question how to make a salary ranging from ten to fifteen dollars per week support a family divided is not an unusual one. Under this law the accused may be ordered to pay a certain sum per week or month toward the support of his wife or family, and during that time proceedings are suspended. Many times it seems that the family must be divided, i. e., the husband and father be permitted to live apart from the remainder of the family, in order to preserve the peace, happiness and welfare of the whole family. Consequently the economic problem just mentioned is not a simple one. Between five and six thousand dollars have been paid into the registry of my court by the husbands and fathers of dependent wives and children during my incumbency in office. In connection with these cases it seems sometimes necessary to watch the expenditure of the money received by a not over-practical wife. On the other hand, more than one case has been presented in which the wife seemed eminently better fitted to go out into the world and earn a livelihood for herself and family than her husband; whereas he was an efficient and devoted father if left at home to care for the children.

I am frequently asked if the justices wear gowns. I inform the inquirer that only one of the five does so, and that she wears it both on and off the bench. In this state the judges of the supreme court have always worn gowns or robes, but it has been only recently decreed that the judges of our superior courts might have the privilege of adopting those insignia of dignity. Justice and liberty, those two ideals inseparably linked with the thought of the law, are never garbed otherwise than in gowns. Did not nature herself intend that women should act as judges when she caused them to select as their every-day raiment those garments which men, with much pomp and ceremony, don when about to fill positions of great dignity?

Weddings are my delight. Having ushered out at one door a weary, white-faced wife, with her brood clinging to her skirts, I turn with a sigh of relief and a flaming of the dimmed fire of hope to a radiant couple entering by the other door, and, having said the last word, I kiss the bride (a privilege which no other justice would dare to exercise), and breathe a silent wish, the best that I can offer her, that she may never meet me again—officially.

A WOMAN REPRESENTATIVE?

According to late returns from Kansas, Dr. Eva Harding, leading woman physician, reformer and suffragist in Topeka, may be nominated for United States Congress. She is running her opponent close and will not know until the official count is all in from Kansas primaries whether or not she is to campaign as the first woman representative in the National Congress.

The Great War and Suffrage

WHEN the Great War began it seemed as if the suffragists of Europe would have to abandon their struggle in order to meet the new demands forced upon them by the crisis. But the cessation of suffrage activity was only temporary and the war service of women has added force to the demand for enfranchisement. A whole literature has developed about the work of women in the warring countries and the probable after-effect of their invasion of men's sphere. However critics differ as to the outcome of these years of the feminization of industrial and civic life in Europe, on one point they are agreed — the women of the nations involved in the war will be granted equal suffrage when the period of reconstruction begins.

Proof of the changed status of women is given by the recent statement of Premier Asquith, for years an obstacle in the path of English suffragists; that in future, any new bill for franchise reforms must include votes for women.

In an address before the House of Commons on August 14th, he declared that the women had presented an unanswerable case. There is no doubt that the Cabinet's decision to postpone franchise and registration reforms until after the war is due to the threat of the women that they would refuse to recognize any change in the franchise in favor of fighting men which failed at the same time to recognize women's right to the franchise.

Dealing with the suggestion that the franchise should be extended to all soldiers and munitions workers. Mr. Asquith said there were the gravest difficulties in the way, and that there were serious objections from a military point of view to holding a general election among the troops in the field. He added:

"General enfranchisement has been brought face to face with another problem. What are we going to do with women?"

According to *The Nation* there have been other similar conversions among men of great influence. Although Earl Curzon remains a strong opponent of the women's cause, together with some other Ministers, men of all parties realize that the capacity and willingness to help in the national cause as displayed by the women during the war has removed the last obstacle to their receiving political recognition.

IN Germany, the consolidation of the two great suffrage organizations into "The German Imperial Association for Woman Suffrage" indicates that women are mobilizing their forces for a new drive. It is a single-plank association, avoiding political and religious partisanship. Its purpose is "to secure for German women the same public rights in counties and State as are granted to men, and especially to secure the vote and eligibility for legislative and administrative bodies; to urge women in those German countries, counties, and classes that have granted political or any other vote to women, to use such vote; and through political educating work to encourage women to take active part in all branches of the political and social public life."

A recent issue of *Frauenbewegung*, states that the Bund deutscher Frauenvereine held a war session to discuss woman's position with regard to population, the question of professions for women after the war and domestic and economic training as educative factors for girls.

One answer to the question of what will become of women workers after the war is found in the action of various German merchants' associations. They have made an agreement, to hold good for at least six months after the war, with the National Clerks' Union and other commercial employes' unions, to exclude female labor as far as possible from offices and stores, and to fix minimum wages for men returning from the war.

The Hand That Hoes the Turnip Rules the World.

Votes for Women.

SQUIRE'S WIFE (late President of the Local Anti-Suffrage Society): "What! Idling again in the Home! Do you know that your place is the turnip field?"

(To meet the alarming shortage of agricultural labour, it has been suggested that there should be a canvass by women of the village women, to induce them to leave their homes and work in the fields.)

THE *Union Française pour le suffrage des femmes* was able this year to hold its annual congress. The President, Mme. de Witt Schlumberger, said in her opening address:

"I am not one of the many who think that the question of woman suffrage is not pressing at the moment, and does not fit in with the daily preoccupation and anguish of the war. It goes without saying that this is not a time for suffrage meetings; every one of us has more pressing duties, and we have certainly shown by our actions that we understand the situation; but, on the other hand, do not let us commit the mistake of thinking there is no connection between the war and the rights that we claim.

"I am struck, on the contrary, by the way in which the demand for suffrage, based on the principle of justice and on the affirmation that force must not triumph over right, harmonises with the preoccupations of the war. This principle of right is at the root of all the present struggle between the peoples."

During this Congress which represented more than eighty feminist groups of France, resolutions were passed regarding women's rights as guardians and members of family councils; the legitimation of natural children; the simplification of marriage; widows' pensions, care of orphans, the fight against alcoholism, the question of repopulation, the education of women, equal pay and the demand for women's representation at the peace conference after the war.

IN a letter to *The Woman's Journal,* Martina G. Kramers describes a recent suffrage parade and demonstration by the women of Holland, attended by 18,000 people. The Dutch woman suffrage association, the two favorable political parties and a number of trades unions marched in the parade. Among the picturesque features was a division of twelve women in green representing the Dutch provinces and colonies. The Netherlands was symbolized by a royal maiden on horseback. National costumes and gay banners and inscriptions enlived the procession.

In the open air meeting, which concluded the demonstration, stress was laid on the need which the state has of mothers and mothers' care and foresight. From each of the four platforms spoke one deputy and three women, and finally at each a unanimous resolution was adopted demanding that political equality for men and women be expressed in the constitution. The Dutch cabinet last November introduced the promised bill for revision of the constitution, which proposes eligibility of women and removal of their disability for electorship.

The New York American.

It will not surprise you to hear that this gentleman of Holland believes that women should not go to the polls and vote. The place for woman in his opinion is THE TOW PATH. He is not so different from a great many American gentlemen who think that woman's place is THE HOME.

With Our Allies—the Antis

For the best "pearl" sent each month we will give a year's subscription to The Woman Voter.

Prize Pearl.

"Mr. Hughes has won admiration and respect by his sound judgment and his courageous integrity. . . . Mr. Hughes has done and will do, what in him lies to destroy democracy and to degrade humanity again to that low state in which men and women labor, fight and love on the same moral and physical plane. . . . He will also have the support of the great body of women who oppose suffrage, who deplore his act, because they will, with the moral backbone bred of anti-suffrage principle, support even the man who betrays them so long as they believe he will not otherwise betray his country."

Mrs. William Force Scott's letter to The New York Tribune.

Anti Views on Mr. Hughes.

"Mr. Hughes purposes to be rid of the feminist party in a manner which suggests the mental processes of the woman who married a man to be rid of him, but it will remain the same old feminist party. 'Suffrage is the political branch of the tree of feminism!' 'Suffrage is the means to an end, that end being a social revolution!' These are the declarations of those who seek political power as a means of driving all women into economic independence, that economic independence which marks the freedom of the new woman. These are 'facts which should be squarely met.'

"Suppose for the sake of argument that granting the ballot to women will rid society of the present noisy discontented minority organized to secure political activities for women, might there not be created a resentful majority, righteously indignant that their will had been overridden and their energies drafted without their consent into political channels when they are needed in conserving family and social life? Politics is not all of good government."

* * * * * * *

"The voters will realize that a candidate who cannot be bullied by a few women will make a better public servant than a weakling willing to surrender state rights and woman's real rights to the suffragist bosses."

Mrs. Arthur Dodge, President, National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

"It is apparent, therefore, that the Republican candidate, in declaring for a Federal suffrage amendment, disfranchising the voters on a question which many of them consider as important as who shall be President of the United States, has alienated an element in the electorate possessing five times the power necessary to defeat him and to re-elect President Wilson, who stands for State rights. If only one anti-suffragist in five in these five States (which recently had state suffrage referenda) votes against Hughes, Wilson will win in a walk!

—Minnie Bronson.

"Does Mr. Hughes really think that if the suffrage leaders get the suffrage they will stop there? No. They will keep up their organization. Having tasted the sweetness of victory over complaisant politicians, they will continue the policy of heckling Presidents, Governors, and legislators. Yielding to importunity is the greatest danger of our Government. It has frequently given us most vicious legislation.

"Therefore I cannot give my confidence to Mr. Hughes. Like many other Democrats, I have at times thought the foreign policy of the Administration inadequate. But I cannot see that Mr. Hughes offers us any definite policy. To surrender without a fight, to yield to importunity—these are not the qualities that the present situation demands."—*Everett P. Wheeler.*

"Without restating the many arguments against woman suffrage, it is certain that the increased emotionalism of a bi-sexual electorate would be sure to deteriorate its quality in a direction where its quality will least stand deterioration."—*Duffield Osbourne.*

"It is a severe blow to find that Mr. Hughes is too weak to oppose a handful of women with whose views it is perfectly evident he does not sympathize . . . In all the suffrage states the female politician is more and more recognized as a menace. Mr. Hughes, in capitulating to her at the very beginning of his campaign, gives us his measure. He thinks he will gain some women's votes. He will certainly lose many men's votes."—*Janet McR. Hall.*

"Mr. Hughes has taken his position at the behest of the suffrage bosses. If suffrage is forced upon the country by a Federal amendment such suffrage bosses will arise in every State. If they succeed in disfranchising the people on this question their power will be greatly increased."—*S. C. White.*

Mr. Hughes gives as a reason for granting suffrage to women the great number of women in industry. The majority of these are girls between 16 and 21. In order to make the ballot of use to them the voting age must be lowered by several years. Would it be an advantage to the country to have its electorate enormously increased by the addition of boys and girls of 16 and over?——*Anti-Suffrage Notes.*

A Dilemma.

The anti-suffragists, it would seem, are not at all pleased by Mr. Hughes' endorsement of the federal amendment. They feel so strongly on the subject that they are out to obtain the election of all candidates "blacklisted by the suffragists." President Wilson is the only Presidential candidate who has been "blacklisted" by the suffragists.

On behalf of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, Mrs. Dodge announced that her association would soon have a million members and that its work would bear fruit on Nov. 7th.

But Mr. Wilson is also a suffragist. Can it be that the Antis are really states-right suffragists? The chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage said in a letter to *The New York Tribune*—

"If a cause is right, why not win a fair victory in a fair way, State by State? That is all we ask who oppose it."

Is Suffrage Going or Coming?

AFTER the campaign of 1915 which recorded an affirmative vote of more than half a million for woman suffrage in New York State, the anti-suffragists made many prophecies with regard to the next popular vote on the question. With much confidence they have asserted, both in their literature and speeches that second referenda show a greater majority against than do first and they predict overwhelming defeat in 1917. Their prophecy of disaster for us does not correspond with the facts of suffrage history. Mrs. Mary Sumner Boyd of the Data Department of the National American Woman Suffrage Association has gathered the returns of every vote on the suffrage question in this country. A careful study of the facts of the people's vote on woman suffrage published in the *Headquarters Newsletter* enables us to reverse the anti slogan and state authoritatively that suffrage is *coming* not going.

The accompanying table is based on returns from official sources in all States

State Referenda on Woman Suffrage

Alaska	1913	Act of Territorial Legislature (Unanimous vote.)	
Ariz	1912	Yes— 13,442	No— 6,202
Cal	1896	Yes—110,355	No—137,099
W. S.	1911	Yes—125,037	No—121,450
Col*	1877	Yes— 6,612	No— 14,053
W. S.	1893	Yes— 35,798	No— 29,451
		(Act of Legislature but ratified by popular vote.)	
Del	1915	Amendments not submitted to the people (Vote on Bill—Sen., Yeas 29, Nays 15; House, Yeas 8, Nays 22.)	
Idaho	1896	Yes— 12,126	No— 6,282
Ill	1913	Municipal and Presidential Suffrage by Act of Legislature (Vote—Senate, Yeas 29, Nays 15; House, Yeas 83, Nays 58.)	
Kansas	1867	Yes— 9,070	No— 19,857
W. S.	1894	Yes— 95,302	No—130,139
	1912	Yes—175,246	No—159,197
Mass.	1915	Yes—162,492	No—295,939
Mich.	1874	Yes— 40,077	No—135,957
	1912	Yes—247,375	No—248,135
	1913	Yes—168,738	No—264,882
Mo.	1914	Yes—182,257	No—322,463
Mont.	1914	Yes— 41,302	No— 37,588
Neb.	1871	Yes— 3,502	No— 12,668
	1882	Yes— 25,756	No— 50,693
	1914	Yes— 90,738	No—100,842
Nevada	1914	Yes— 10,936	No—..7,258
N. H.	1903	Yes— 13,089	No— 21,788
N. J.	1915	Yes—133,282	No—184,390
		(Had woman suffrage up to 1807.)	
N. Y.	1915	Yes—553,348	No—748,332
N. D.	1914	Yes— 40,011	No— 49,410
Ohio	1912	Yes—249,420	No—336,875
	1914	Yes—335,390	No—518,295
Oregon (1)	1884	Yes— 11,223	No— 28,176
	1900	Yes— 26,265	No— 28,402
	1906	Yes— 36,902	No— 47,075
	1908	Yes— 36,858	No— 58,670
	1910	Yes— 36,200	No— 58,800
	1912	Yes— 61,265	No— 57,104
Okla.	1910	Yes— 88,808	No—128,928
Penn.	1915	Yes—385,348	No—441,034
R. I.	1887	Yes— 21,957	No— 6,889
S. D.	1890	Yes— 22,792	No— 45,682
	1898	Yes— 19,698	No— 22,983
	1914	Yes— 39,605	No— 51,519
Utah	1896	Yes— 28,618	No— 2,687
W. S.		(Voted on as part of Constitution of new states, Had Woman Suffrage in Territorial Period.)	
Wash.	1889	Yes— 16,527	No— 35,912
	1898	Yes— 20,171	No— 30,497
	1910	Yes— 52,299	No— 29,676
		(Had woman suffrage in Territorial Period.)	
Wis.	1912	Yes—135,545	No—227,024
Wyo.	1869	Act of Territorial Legislature.	
W. S.		Vote—Council, Yeas 6, Nays 3; House, Yeas 6, Nays 4.	

(1) An outline of woman suffrage history in Oregon states: "Equal Suffrage Amendment was not ratified for two years after 1895." There is no record of a vote in this year.

*In 1901 constitutional safeguards were thrown about the political rights of women in Colorado by an amendment striking out the word "male." The amendment carried by a majority six times as large as that which originally conferred the right.

The first legislative body that voted to bring woman suffrage before the people was the Nebraska House of Representatives in 1856. The first vote of the people in favor is the 9,070 minority in Kansas in 1867.

Of late years, the Antis have been saying that interest in woman suffrage has been waning—that "Suffrage is not coming, but going."

Since 1867, twenty-eight states have taken woman suffrage to the final tribunal for decision at one time and another, and in thirteen the decision has been favorable. In twenty-four states the decision was by referendum. In nine the people have voted more than once. Even if we make liberal allowance for those individuals who voted at more than one election, not far from three million American men have put themselves on record in favor. From the nine thousand in Kansas to the million and a quarter in the East in 1915 is indeed—as the North Dakota Suffragists turn the Antis' phrase to suit their own uses—"going some."

The most interesting of the twenty-four states are those which have voted more than once. Out of twenty-seven elections in these nine states, there have been only four backslidings, and it is on two of these, Ohio and Michigan, that the Antis base their claim. The other two—South Dakota, where the 1898 election called out a much smaller vote both for and against than that of eight years before, and Oregon, which in 1908 and 1910 lost more heavily than in 1906—both caught up too well in later elections to be cited as terrible examples. Oregon serves the Antis today as an even more terrible example—a Suffrage State.

The Ohio election of 1914 shows a larger gain of nays than ayes, the margin in favor of the nays being twice that of 1912. A prohibition amendment was also to be voted on at the 1914 election, and the forces of the liquor men were concentrated in the state. They made the fight against woman suffrage their own. It was liquor and not The Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage that piled up the adverse

vote. "The tinkle of the cash register drowned out the Liberty Bell." The liquor men scattered cash freely in the cities, and to win another class of voter, they sent out libellous printed matter about the suffragists. They cooperated with the Antis, their periodical, the *Liberal Advocate,* publishing a series of articles by the Secretary of the Cincinnati Antis. They advertised in the street cars against both the prohibition and the suffrage amendment, and they distributed from house to house anti-prohibition and anti-suffrage literature folded up in the same packages.

As a result, the same election and the same voters defeated prohibition and suffrage amendments.

Nevertheless, the yea vote in 1914 had grown almost to the proportions of the nay vote of 1912, and the gain had been in every county in the state. This was a natural growth, whereas the nay vote was inflated by organized corruption on a large scale.

In Michigan in 1913 the defeat shows something not paralleled in any other state, and that is an absolute falling off in the yea vote between the fall of 1912 and the spring of 1913. In the fall, the opposition was not awake. Four other states were voting on suffrage, and the liquor forces were divided between these states. There was practically no opposition in Michigan from that source, which only awakened to activity when the election was over, and woman suffrage actually won. Then they stole the victory by gross frauds in the count of the vote.

After the election, they girded their loins for a real battle and filled their belts with coin. Nature worked with them, for a special spring election is the hardest to get out any but a city vote. The farmers had piled up the affirmative vote in 1912, but now the farmers were busy with their spring crops, and in great numbers they were forced to stay away from the polls, so the rural vote was unprecedentedly light. In some districts there was no vote whatever. In the cities, and especially those where liquor was also an issue, the vote was unprecedentedly high, and where the two issues came up together, business men were intimidated into either staying away from the polls or voting "no." Of the 16,000 majority against—13,000 was gained in districts where local option also was an issue.

But for all that, between 1874 and 1914, suffrage had gained at a greater rate than the opposition; the 1914 vote was six times that of 1874; the 1913 vote, four times, while at neither of the later elections did the opposition double the adverse vote of 1874.

In the seven other states, comparing the figures for successive votes, state by state, the yeas show a relative growth in successive elections that is out of proportion to the nays. In Nebraska, for instance, in the election of 1882, the aye vote is between seven and eight times that of 1871, whereas the nay vote is only four times that of 1871; in 1914 the aye vote is not far from four times that of 1882—the nay less than twice.

In other words, the people's vote for suffrage is steadily and by large percentages increasing in volume, while the volume of the negative vote is, relatively to the other, steadily dwindling.

State Legislatures and Suffrage.

ALTHOUGH the Associated Press in a recent summary of legislative progress declares that "comparatively little favorable action" was taken this year by the Legislatures on equal suffrage, a review of this action shows distinct gains for the movement.

Few Legislatures met this year, and nearly all of those which held sessions were in Southern States. In New York, where a suffrage amendment was defeated last fall, it was again passed by the Legislature, 33 to 10 in the Senate and 109 to 30 in the House.

The Maryland Senate for the first time in its history passed the amendment by more than the necessary three-fifths vote, 17 to 10, although it was later beaten in the House, 36 to 64. The Kentucky Senate voted 26 to 8 in favor of submitting the question, and only the most desperate work on the part of the liquor dealers defeated it in the House, where, in fact, it won a majority 46 to 45, but not the necessary two-thirds.

In Oklahoma the resolution received an adverse report in the Senate, but passed the House 62 to 15. In Virginia, where in 1912 and 1914 the House of Delegates gave only 13 favorable votes for a suffrage amendment, in 1916 the vote stood only 52 to 40. The South Carolina House of Representatives, which in 1914 laughed at the introduction of a suffrage bill and voted unanimously against a measure extending school suffrage to women, refused to cut off debate this year, and gave a vote of only 61 to 51 against the amendment.

After much heated debate, the Louisiana House returned a verdict of 60 ayes and 49 noes. In New Jersey and Rhode Island presidential suffrage bills were killed in committee.

—*The Woman's Journal.*

The Woman Suffrage Party of New York City

Edited by

Adaline W. Sterling

THE decision of the highest court declaring unconstitutional the Re-apportionment Act of 1916 was handed down after the August issue of *The Woman Voter* had gone to press. For benefit of our anti-suffrage readers we, therefore, make the statement that the enumeration of districts and their leaders was correct when the forms were printed.

No violent upheaval has followed the return to old district lines. The Party has no political payments rendered invalid by the change, and as it has prudently confined the output of printer's ink to a modest supply of stationery, there is no wailing over money wasted. On the other hand the certainty that no other change in district lines is possible this year has cleared the way for effective work.

AMONG some good things out of the shifting caused by the rejected act is the discovery of new workers, women of constructive ability, capable of filling office. At its meeting on July 28th in considering the return to former conditions, the Board of Directors recognized the value of this new element. This recognition took form in a recommendation to the districts that, in organizing anew, wherever possible these new officers who had brought added strength to the organization should be retained. Accompanying was the suggestion that this end might be attained by the self-sacrificing act of former officers who from circumstance realized their inability to give time and service to the ever increasing demands of the new campaign.

Thus it happened at the City Committee meeting on August 7th that there was a gathering of familiar faces and new faces. Here were leaders elected last January whom legislative act had left outside their former districts, and new leaders who had been appointed to brief control of consolidated localities, all, however, ready to do Party work wherever they could best render service.

THE most important thing accomplished at City Committee meeting was the decision where walking is best for suffragists during the presidential campaign. As we all know the principle of woman suffrage through state action has received the endorsement of both National parties. One candidate has gone beyond his party platform and favors a federal amendment,

National American Woman Suffrage Association

Headquarters—171 Madison Avenue

Chairman—Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt

New York State Woman Suffrage Party

Headquarters—303 Fifth Avenue

Chairman—Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse

Woman Suffrage Party of New York City

Headquarters—48 East 34th Street

Chairman—

Miss Mary G. Hay, 2 West 86th Street

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION

Notice is hereby given that Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, or someone designated by her, will offer the following amendment to the constitution of the National American Woman Suffrage Association at the National Convention in September:

Amend Article 2, by striking out the words "National and" so that the Article when amended will read, "The object of this Association shall be to secure protection, in their right to vote, to the women citizens of the United States, by appropriate State legislation;" and also on motion of Mrs. Catt, the following:

Amend Article 2, by striking out the words "and State" so that when amended the article will read, "The object of this Association shall be to secure protection, in their right to vote, to the women citizens of the United States, by appropriate National legislation:"

Notice is also given that Mrs. Raymond Brown will offer the following amendment:

Amend Article 5, Section 1, by substituting, "The Board of Directors of the Association shall consist of the Honorary President and the Officers of the Association as elected at the annual convention in the manner hereinafter provided:"

Notice is also given that Miss Hannah J. Patterson will offer the following amendment:

Amend Article 3, Section 2, paragraph 1, by inserting after "members," "whose constitution and policy are in harmony with the constitution and policy of the National American Woman Suffrage Association" so that the paragraph when amended shall read, "Any suffrage organization of 200 or more certified members whose constitution and policy are in harmony with the constitution and policy of the National American Woman Suffrage Association may become an Affiliated member;" and also the following:

Amend Article 7, Section 1, paragraph 1, by adding after the word "business" the following sentence, "But no person shall be a member of the Executive Council who holds office in any suffrage organization which does not endorse the policy of the National American Woman Suffrage Association:"

Notice is also given that Mrs. John O. Miller, on behalf of the Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association will offer the following amendment:

Amend Article 6, Section 1, paragraph 2, by substituting, "Each of such officers shall serve for the term of two years beginning immediately upon the close of each alternate convention."

Notice is also given that Mrs. Harrison Monro Brown, on behalf of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, will offer the following amendment:

Amend Article 3, Section 2, by substituting, "An affiliated member shall be any suffrage organization of 2,000 or more certified members, and there shall be but one such in each State. (Note—States having more than one affiliated member shall have until Jan. 1, 1917 to adjust matters. The Senior Organization shall continue): and also the following:

Amend Article 3, Section 3, by substituting, "An Associate member shall be any organization of 200 or more certified members which officially endorses woman suffrage providing such member is approved by a two-thirds vote of the Executive Council and upon payment of annual dues of $50.00."

Amend Article 3, Section 4, by substituting, "A Cooperating member shall be any individual who pays annual dues of $10.00."

Amend Article 3, Section 5, by substituting, "A Life member shall be any individual why pays $100.00."

A motion will be offered at the Convention to make any changes necessary in the phraseology of the various sections of the constitution to conform to any of the amendments which may be adopted by the Convention.

HANNAH J. PATTERSON,
Corresponding Secretary.

thereby expressing personal opinion without changing the character of the party plank. The four million actual women voters are engaging the earnest attention of politicians. Suffragists have become interesting to party leaders who are more than willing to welcome women workers to their ranks.

Here in city and state are sundry leagues and alliances of women organized to work for one presidential candidate or the other, for Republican or Democratic party as the case may be. Women, naturally, have their political preferences, and the attention shown them in the present campaign is without doubt flattering. This is the side which presents its argument for personal participation in the work of league or alliance.

On the other hand is the question what have non-voters to gain by helping men in their political issues? Which side will bring success to our amendment in 1917? Who can determine whether the Republican party shall be dominant in nation and state or whether the victory shall go to the Democrats; or who can be certain that Congress and state legislature shall be of the same political faith? No matter how suffrage is obtained—by federal amendment or by state referendum, it must in the end come back to the voters whose support must be won apart from partisan consideration. Partisan participation in the campaign by officers, leaders and prominent workers would inevitably involve the organization in political entanglement.

The point at issue resolved itself into: Shall suffragists walk on the Democratic side of the way, or shall they promenade across the street with the Republicans? The decision came in form of a resolution, unanimously carried, embodying the path which suffragists may safely tread, "the middle of the road." The resolution was as follows: "Whereas; We need the votes of all parties in order to win our referendum in 1917—Resolved, that in the present political campaign the Woman Suffrage Party maintain as heretofore its strictly non-partisan attitude."

PARTY work in the boroughs has changed its direction but not its activity. In all the Boroughs workers are still engaged in aiding the Board of Health in its fight against polyomyelitis by the distribution of literature giving information as to the first symptoms of the malady, and the necessity of immediate medical aid, and also affording instruction in preventive measures.

Street meetings except in a very few favorable localities have been suspended. On August 16th a large and enthusiastic meeting was held at 120th street and Amsterdam avenue under the direction of Miss Trow, one of the vice-leaders of the 19th Assembly District. The audience was composed almost entirely of members of the summer schools at Columbia who were not in need of conversion, but rather of exhortation to go back to their homes as suffrage missionaries. The speakers were Miss Jane Thompson, Miss Adaline Sterling, and Mr. Walter Randolph.

A PLEASANT Manhattan function was the welcome given on August 1st to Mrs. John Humphrey Watkins, newly elected vice-chairman of the Borough. The reception was held at headquarters following the monthly Borough meeting, and ended with a satisfying supper under the management of Mrs. Mabel Russell. The place cards were designed and painted by Miss Stella Doughty and depicted the G. O. P. elephant and the Democratic donkey each bearing a suffrage plank and obediently following the lead of an enterprising young woman whose yellow sash indicated *her* party.

OVER in Richmond on "commuters' day," last month's suffrage stunt, workers met several of the boats as they arrived at St. George and distributed the leaflet and the boxes of suffrage candy. One worker reported that she was fairly mobbed and was almost thrown down by the men struggling to get the boxes. Finally a modern St. George came to her rescue and drove away the modern dragons. It is a matter of surmise how many of the last-mentioned took the candy home to the infant dragons.

"INTERVIEW the candidates" is the present slogan, for September is coming and with it Primary Day, and we must get the views of candidates for Assembly and Congress, and candidates for political leadership as well. So devoted suffrage workers must again "chase the (political) antelopes over the plain, and bind with a chain" any gazelle willing to state his convictions. May victory in 1917 make this the very last "Hunting of the Snark."

THE stunt of the month was "Automobile Day" when those who ride in autos were met by yellow sashed workers and presented with a leaflet specially written to meet motorist needs. The 25th was the day chosen for this special propaganda, and in certain localities whenever autos were halted by street traffic the occupants received a leaflet inquiring not as to the make of the machine but whether their owners ride in the "Car of Progress"—which is, woman suffrage.

The Trade Union Woman

By Alice Henry. Published by D. Appleton and Co., New York. Price. $1.50 *net.*

The Trade Union Woman, by Alice Henry was published in the fall of 1915 when the New York State suffrage campaign was at its height. During that time, *The Woman Voter* gave no space to book reviews and so, one of the most important books of the year for women passed without notice. It is not too late, however, to say that Miss Henry's book is one that all suffragists should know. It is a clear statement of the problems of the wage earning woman, a history of her struggle to organize trades unions and to win shorter hours, better pay and decent conditions of work.

The early leaders of the suffrage movement were keenly aware of the relation of their struggle to that of women for labor organization and industrial equality. Miss Henry cites *The Revolution* published from 1868 to 1870 as indication of the pioneer suffragists' advocacy of the rights of labor. Although the magazine was primarily for suffrage propaganda its pages were full of the industrial question, of innumerable reports of the work of Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton at workingmen's conventions and editorials urging working women to unite with the trade union movement and strive for equal pay. Then came a period when suffragists seemed to have focussed their attention upon winning equal educational and professional opportunities and equality before the law.

In recent years, the remarkable industrial progress of women, participation in the work of the various trades union leagues and co-operation during the great strikes have awakened suffragists to the needs of working women.

Indeed, it would be impossible for one to engage in modern suffrage activities "without realizing how unequally social burdens press, how unequally social advantages are allotted, whether the burdens come through hours of work, inadequate remuneration, sanitary conditions whether in home and factory, and whether the advantages are obtainable through public education, vocational education, medical care or in the larger field of recreation."

Miss Henry suggests that the organized suffragists, in all advanced countries, should long ago have broadened their platforms to include not only the vote but the legal, political and social equality of women. Such a program would give women greater appreciation of the tremendous power of the ballot and enable them to formulate a common policy based upon the needs of their sex.

England's Effort

By Mrs. Humphry Ward. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Price $1.00 *net.*

Whatever the outcome of the Great War, one fact is indisputable—the women of the warring countries have made good. *England's Effort,* a series of letters from Mrs. Humphrey Ward to an American friend, pictures vividly the quarter of a million or more English women who have left their regular occupations to make war supplies for the men in the trenches. She describes women by the thousands in munition factories, handling high explosives, making fuses, cartridges, pressing, filing, managing complicated machines, working at top speed with amazing dexterity. No ordinary spirit animates these women of all classes who have responded to the country's need and are standing side by side in a common enterprise. They are aflame with patriotism, glad to sacrifice everything for England's victory.

Curiously enough, the graphic description of the transformation of English women, written by an avowed anti suffragist is pronounced by a critic on the *New York Herald* "the greatest argument for woman suffrage I ever read."

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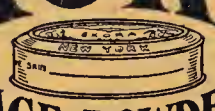

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FOUR EXCLUSIVE MODEL FALL DRESSES

Styles Registered by **Franklin Simon & Co.**

"Radmawr" Dress

"Drezwellsley" Dress

"Country Club" Dress

"Betty Wales" Dress

No. 12. **Misses' "Radmawr" Serge Dress,** *style registered,* in navy or black, one-piece open-front pleated model, pleated from yoke at front and back, belt of material slips through box pleats, serge collar with white satin over-collar, bone buttons. 14 to 20 years. ***Special* 14.50**

No. 14. **Misses' "Drezwellsley" Serge Dress,** *style registered,* in navy or black, pleated model with round yoke front and back, detachable white pique collar, black silk cord tie, belt with loop tabs at side inset with fob pockets is stitched at front in red, Copen, or black silk, bone buttons. 14 to 20 years. ***Special* 14.50**

No. 16. **Misses' "Country Club" Serge Dress,** *style registered,* in navy or black, double breasted model ornamented with navy or black silk crochet pendant buttons, detachable white satin collar, white Georgette vestee, rows of shirring at top of skirt, long draped serge sash. 14 to 20 years. ***Special* 18.50**

No. 18. **Misses' "Betty Wales" Serge Dress,** *style registered,* in navy or black, new apron front, box pleated model; detachable white bengaline silk collar, box pleated skirt with gathered side panels, stitched belt, self covered buttons. 14 to 20 years. ***Special* 15.75**

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